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ABSTRACT

In May 1992 the dropout rate among Hispanic students was 36.6 percent in the Providence (Rhode Island) public schools. A survey was administered in Spanish or English to 232 Hispanic students and 52 teachers at 3 high schools to assess ways to reduce the dropout rate. An attempt to follow up on the Hispanic students listed as dropouts succeeded in locating only 15, but many were actually enrolled in alternative education programs. Responses of some parents and community activists were also obtained. Results demonstrated that Hispanics are not a monolithic block and that Hispanic young people do not see themselves as different from their classmates. A high level of English proficiency and time of residence in the country were associated with dropping out rather than academic success. Students, teachers, parents, and community activists cited communication between teachers and parents as essential to student success, along with cultural awareness and agreement about goals and language. Student responses showed that they were generally positive and optimistic about school. Recommendations for dropout reduction are summarized. An appendix summarizes the interviews and data. (Contains 30 references.) (SLD)

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Executive Summary
January 1994

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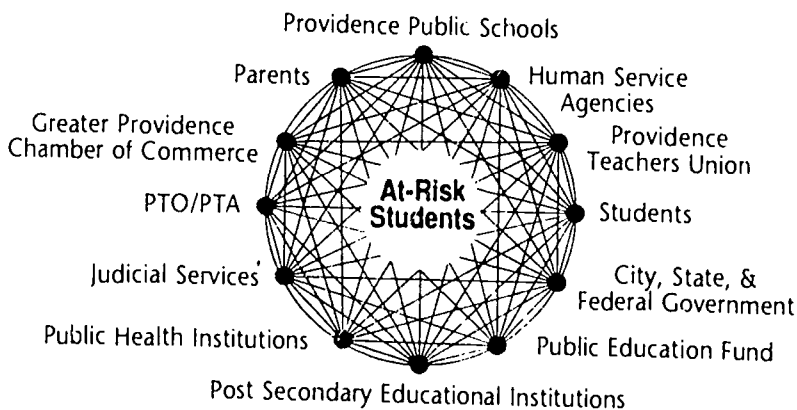
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HISPANIC STUDENTS AND THEIR TEACHERS ASSESS THE NEEDS OF LOCAL HISPANIC STUDENTS

Executive Summary January 1994

a publication of the
Providence Dropout
Prevention Collaborative



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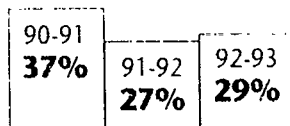
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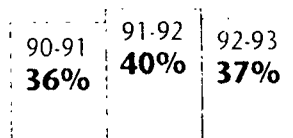
The Dropout Rate in Providence
by Race or Ethnic Group, 1990-93*



Black



White



Hispanic



Asian

90-91	91-92	92-93
34.5% Total	31.9% Total	29.4% Total

(Source: URI UEC)

*Figures based on 100 students of a given race or ethnic group.

Summary of Findings from the Study's Survey

- Many of the young Hispanic people listed by the Providence Public Schools as dropouts are actually enrolled in alternative education programs such as GED classes.
- Hispanic young people are not a monolithic block. This population is extremely diverse. Nonetheless, young Hispanic people in general do not feel that they are different from their classmates. Students feel that they are the authors of their own destinies and, in general, they take full responsibility for their own failures or successes.
- Eighty-six percent of Hispanic students like school. Most feel very positive about their teachers and plan to continue their education after high school.
- Most students consider learning English very important to success in school. In their view it is more important than it is in the teachers' view.
- National research shows that the conditions which lead Hispanic students to leave school are the same as those for dropouts in general: poor grades, being over age for their grade, and being absent frequently.
- Contrary to expectation, young Hispanic people who speak English fluently and have been on the US mainland for a long time are actually more likely to drop out than their peers who prefer to speak Spanish and have arrived here recently. Some students who chose to answer the survey in Spanish recommended that schools have stricter behavior codes.

- Many teachers credit their own parents with enabling them to get an education and want today's parents to take a more active role in education.
- Some parents and community activists feel the schools do not welcome their participation and often reject their efforts to help. A few parents believe that Hispanic youths are not treated fairly by teachers and administrators.
- Conflict and miscommunication over who is responsible for a child's education crops up again and again; some parents feel the school is not doing its job yet is rejecting parents' participation, while many teachers strenuously call on parents to take more responsibility for their children's education.
- Students rely heavily on teachers and parents for the encouragement and advice they see as key to success in school. Most students say teachers who care about students are very important.
- A mother's educational level was not directly linked with student participants' academic achievement. Of children of college-educated mothers, 60% reported receiving A's and B's. However, of children whose mothers had only an elementary school education, a similar 55% reported usually receiving A's and B's.
- Students considered Spanish-speaking principals and administrators very important. They consider Spanish-speaking counselors more important than Spanish-speaking teachers in helping Hispanic students graduate.

Purpose of the Study and Methodology

In May 1992 the dropout rate among Hispanic students was 39.6% in Providence's public schools. That is some 13% higher than the dropout rate among white students. The purpose of this study is to assess the needs of local Hispanic students and to make recommendations that will significantly reduce this rate and enable more young Hispanic students to complete their studies.

The survey was administered to 232 Hispanic students and 52 volunteer teachers at Central High School, Mount Pleasant High School, and Hope High School. Of the students 61% chose to answer in Spanish and 39% chose to answer in English. The Providence Public Schools provided researchers with the names, addresses and phone numbers of the 145 Hispanic students who were described as having "Withdrawn Voluntarily" from the schools in the 1991-92 school year. Researchers attempted to call these young people to interview them, but found that 81% of the phone lines had been disconnected or the numbers had been reassigned to other families. They were able to reach 15 of those young people and conduct telephone interviews in English and Spanish based on the questionnaires, but the size of this sample was disappointing; it is too small to produce reliable statistics. For that reason the results of the 15 interviews with dropouts are described in an appendix rather than in the body of the report. Instead of percentages, this sector's responses are stated in the report as the number out of the 15 who responded in a certain way, for example: "10 out of 15 answered 'true' to this statement."

There are a few national issues pertaining specifically to Hispanic youths which are not clearly reflected locally. The most commonly cited indicators for Hispanic students at risk of dropping out are limited English proficiency, lack of parental encouragement, parents' lack of education, low self-esteem, and alienation from the school environment. None of these factors is strongly reflected in the Hispanic population in Providence.

ASPRA Association, Inc.'s 1989 "Five Cities" study by Ricardo Fernandez showed that Hispanic students do not, in fact, suffer from poor self-esteem when assessed on a national

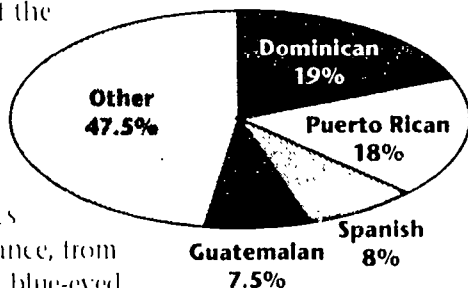
level. Locally, Hispanic high school students had positive feelings about themselves, their teachers, and school.

Certainly no researcher has yet been able to explain definitively why Hispanic youth, rich and poor, East and West, bilingual and monolingual, are so much more prone to dropping out than other youths. Dr. Fernandez's findings for ASPIRA imply that earlier research has been on the wrong track in blaming limited abilities in English, negativity about school and teachers, poor self concept, or lack of parental encouragement. The current study applies his research to Hispanic young people in Providence and compares national and local factors from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) with the objective of identifying factors which will reduce the dropout rate.

The Hispanic Population in Rhode Island and Providence: The Local Perspective

Rhode Island's Hispanic population has increased 132% since 1980, making RI the state with the highest percentage gain in the entire country according to the 1990 US Census. There are now 45,752 people of Hispanic origin in Rhode Island. In fact, Hispanics now exceed all other minority groups in size in our state. While the majority of people of Hispanic origin in the United States are of Mexican origin, Rhode Island Hispanics are largely of Dominican ancestry (8,902 people or 19% of RI Hispanics) or Puerto Rican heritage (8,366 people or 18%) according to the most recent US Census.

All Puerto Ricans are US citizens from birth because Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the United States. These US citizens constitute a very large portion of the local Hispanic population. The third and fourth largest Hispanic groups in RI define themselves as Spanish (3,679 people or 8%) and Guatemalan (3,467 people or 7.5%). Hispanics may be of any color and appearance, from Indian of features to blonde and blue-eyed, from Asian to African in aspect.



RI's Hispanic Population: 1990

The Hispanic population is, in itself, multicultural. There is no single country that defines the "Hispanic" culture. Hispanic is a term we use to group people from many diverse countries and regions where Spanish is the main language.

As diverse as the Hispanic population is, and as unique as its needs may be, Hispanic children, like other children of color and children from different cultures, are at a disadvantage in this society. Without falling into stereotypes of a diverse and multi-faceted group of people, without falsely characterizing Hispanics as powerless victims, we cannot ignore widespread economic need, difficult living conditions, and social isolation when asking why Hispanic teenagers drop out of high school in Providence.

Risk Factors

While opinions among participants in the current study were many and varied, several factors were cited by students, dropouts, and teachers repeatedly as contributing to the drop-out rate among Hispanic youth in Providence. The issues that emerged from the research are:

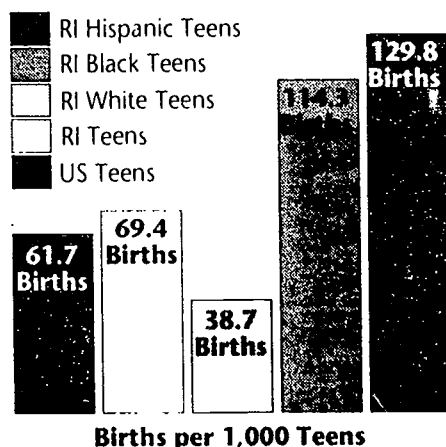
1. Adolescent Pregnancy (*p.6*)
2. Drug and Alcohol Abuse (*p.8*)
3. English Proficiency (*p.8*)
4. Students' Lack of Interest in Education/Self Esteem (*p.10*)
5. Students' Desire/Need for Money (*p.10*)
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7. Failure in Class/Frequent Absence (*p.12*)
8. Need for Parents' Involvement in Their Children's Education/Parents' Education (*p.12*)
9. Need for Cultural Sensitivity (*p.15*)
10. Need for Encouragement/Support from Parents and Teachers (*p.19*)

Adolescent Pregnancy

Many students, teachers, and dropouts suggested that Hispanic students were more likely to become pregnant at an early age than students of other races and ethnic groups. This

was difficult to verify or refute because until 1991 Rhode Island did not keep track of births to Hispanic women.

Nationally we know that by their 18th birthday, 14 percent of Hispanic teens will have had a child, compared to 26% of African American teens and 7% of white teens ("The Facts," United Way, January 1992). According to the RI Dept. of Health the state's rate of births per 1,000 teens 15-19 years old is 69.4. (The national rate is 61.7.) When disaggregated by race and ethnic group, the 1990 birth rate for RI's white teens is 38.7 per 1,000; for blacks, 114.3; and for Hispanics, 129.8 (Center for Population Options).



The National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88) offers some evidence that Hispanic female dropouts are not more prone to teen pregnancy than dropouts from other ethnic groups: 41% of African American, 32% of white, and 21% of Hispanic female dropouts in that study said they left school because they were pregnant. Nonetheless, the young Hispanic women were most likely to report "got married" as a reason for dropping out, 22% cited this reason compared to 15% of the white dropouts and 1% of the African American dropouts in the study.

The issue of adolescent pregnancy was particularly urgent to Providence teachers, 71% of whom cited programs to prevent teen pregnancy as very important in helping Hispanic students stay in school. They rated sex education as the next most important factor; 65% of teachers called it very important.

Forty-two percent of the Hispanic students surveyed considered sex education very important and 54% ranked active prevention programs as very important in helping Hispanic students graduate.

Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Sixty-nine percent of teachers rated drug and alcohol abuse by students as definitive in dropping out among Hispanic youth, but fewer students, 48%, cited drug/alcohol abuse by students as definitely causing people to drop out.

While teachers found substance abuse education important, they found it less so than students did; 42% of teachers called education on that subject very important, but 66% of students rated education about drugs and alcohol very important in preventing dropouts.

Thirty-three percent of teachers ranked treatment programs very important, while 44% of students felt there was a need for drug treatment programs in the schools. Sixty-three percent of teachers cited the opportunity to earn good money selling drugs as an important causal factor. Students cited the opportunity to earn good money selling drugs as an important influence, 44% of them wrote that it definitely caused dropping out among their peers.

English Proficiency

At first glance the language factor would seem to be an important indicator of success or failure in school for Hispanic young people. However, according to Steinberg, Blinde, and Chan (1984) and Fernandez and Shu (1988) Hispanic students, regardless of their ability to speak English, persist in being twice as likely to drop out of school than any other students. When matched for limitation in speaking English, income level, family size, availability of reading material at home, and parental level of education, Hispanic students are still more likely to drop out than their peers at all levels, researchers found. This indicates that language is not a crucial variable.

In Providence all sectors surveyed placed "the ability to speak English well" in the top six factors in importance. Oddly enough, however, the dropouts we were able to interview were more fluent in English and had been in the United States longer than the students interviewed.

Seventy-one percent of students called the ability to speak English well very important in helping Hispanic students graduate. Of the 142 Spanish-answering students, 72% rated it very important. Fifty-five percent of the 90 English-answering students felt the same.

Surprisingly, fewer teachers (58%) ranked English language proficiency very important in the list of 27 factors. Some teachers strongly recommend that bilingual education be eliminated in favor of an English as a Second Language (ESL) program. Bilingual classrooms are ones in which the native language of the students is used as a medium of instruction until the student gains proficiency in English. In an ESL classroom only English is spoken. "DROP bilingual programs," demanded one representative, "...put those resources into expanded and concentrated ESL programs." Many parents and community members, however, feel equally strongly that ESL programs hinder their children and that bilingual education must be improved and expanded to include all students who need it.

In this sample of students bilingual programs did not seem to be a determining factor in students' decisions to stay in school or drop out. The majority of students had been in both English as a Second Language and bilingual programs. Sixty-nine percent of student respondents said they had been in ESL programs: 70.5% reported that they had been or were currently in bilingual classrooms. Seventy-nine percent of those former and current bilingual students felt the bilingual program was beneficial, largely because it facilitates students learning subjects such as science and history. Their criticisms centered on the difficulty of learning English if you study in Spanish with Spanish speakers as classmates. Sixty percent of veterans of ESL programs felt ESL was beneficial, largely because they felt they learned English faster in an all-English environment. Criticisms of the ESL setting largely focused on the difficulty of keeping up academically if you understand no English and the teacher only speaks English.

Both these perspectives show that Hispanic students are concerned about academic advancement; they are anxious to learn English and also to do well in other subjects.

Students' Lack of Interest in Education/Self Esteem

This aspect of the causes of dropping out among Hispanic youth in Providence is not easy to quantify. Students wrote statements such as "They are tired of going to school," "They lose interest in school," or "They don't feel like it".

This vagueness on the part of students as to the causes of dropping out may indicate that many current students do not have a firm idea of why some 40% of their peers leave school every year.

Current students displayed positive feelings about school and high self esteem in the academic arena: 86% of students surveyed said they liked school, 85% answered "true" to the statement "teachers like me," 72% said they were good at schoolwork. Ninety-one percent of the student respondents answered true to the statement "I will get a better job if I graduate" and 82% said they plan to continue their education after high school. When asked why they stayed in school many students stated that they wanted to "be somebody" or "make something" of their lives, indicating that they see their motivation as internal and believe that school is a positive step toward a better future.

These results indicate that peer groups may be separate, despite the bond of a common ethnicity.

Some teachers mentioned disinterest on the part of students as a reason for dropping out, but they were more likely to place the onus of responsibility for scholastic enthusiasm on parents than on young people.

Students' Desire/Need for Money

When asked "In your opinion as a young person, why do some Hispanic young people leave high school before graduating?" one student responded in Spanish "Because practically the majority of the Hispanics come for a better future and they want to have it from the time they arrive in the country, but for that they have to leave their studies and work in any old thing

to produce money." Many young people mentioned a desire for "money, nice clothes, and a car" as factors leading to dropping out.

Public education in Providence may be suffering from a credibility problem among some sectors of Hispanic youth: some young people are not sure that a high school education will make an appreciable economic difference in their lives.

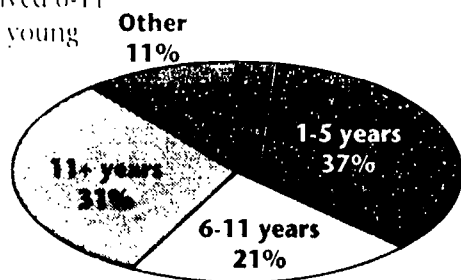
Real economic hardship was cited by teachers as a factor leading young people to abandon their studies before graduation.

Longevity in the US/Acculturation

Recent immigration and little parent education have long been thought to indicate a higher risk of dropping out. Sixty percent of the teachers who participated in this research reported that their families had been in this country for over 50 years. Twenty three percent did not answer the question "How long ago did your family come to the United States?"

Dr. Frank D. Bean et al, in their 1991 Texas study, found that the longer Mexican-American families have been in the U.S., the lower their children's educational level will sink. Bean attributes this to the second generation's experience of discrimination, a growing awareness of structural barriers that block access to complete assimilation, and the resulting decrease in motivation.

The 232 Hispanic students who filled out questionnaires were much more recent immigrants (or migrants in the case of Puerto Ricans) than the dropouts were: 37% came to the US mainland 1-5 years ago, 21% arrived 6-11 years ago. A large group of these young people, 31%, had been on the United States mainland over eleven years. Most of the dropouts we interviewed had been in the country longer, or were born on the mainland (see Appendix).



Participants' Longevity on US Mainland

Failure in Class/Frequent Absence

Some teachers felt that attendance is a problem for Hispanic students, but, once again, they place the responsibility on the parents. "Parents need to become more aware of what their children are doing (learning) in school," one said. When asked what helps Hispanic students graduate, one teacher wrote this representative statement: "A strong family: one that disciplines and keeps track; one that teaches a child how they can be responsible for their life." When asked how schools could help Hispanic students graduate another teacher wrote "To strengthen attendance, to get parents involved."

Several parents interviewed, however, were angry at the high schools for failing to inform them that their children were not going to school. Several compared high schools unfavorably with Providence's elementary schools, which, they reported, always call the home if a child fails to attend even one day.

This conflict over who is responsible for a child's education crops up again and again; parents feel the school is not doing its job yet is rejecting parents' participation, while teachers strenuously call on parents to take more responsibility for their children's education. Both groups appear to want to work together for the good of the students, yet neither feels the other is willing.

Need for Parents' Involvement in Their Children's Education/Parents' Education

Students and teachers agreed that parental support is absolutely essential to student success. Forty-three percent of students proclaimed that the adult who had most influenced their decision to stay in school was their mother and/or their father. Further, in the long answer sections of the survey students often mentioned family support or lack of it as a determining factor in decisions about school.

Fifty-eight percent declared that their parents were very involved with their schoolwork and more reported that their

parents tell them to pay attention in school, remind them to do their homework, read their report cards with interest, and talk to them seriously about their grades. A much smaller 33% report that their parents punish them if they are late to school or skip school; 31% said their parents help them with their homework and attend parents' night at school.

Student participants also repeatedly named "family problems" as a reason some Hispanic teens leave school. This could be a reference to economic need, but includes statements like "Some because parents drive us crazy and fight a lot. It gets us tired of listening to them fight. Some of us leave with our boyfriend or girlfriend and don't have time to go to school..." and "They leave because of certain circumstances like pregnancy or their parents kick them out and they have to live on their own."

Students appear to rely very heavily upon their families for inspiration and support in education. "In my case the truth is that I think the education your parents give you is very important," wrote one student in Spanish. "because if parents don't worry about their children, well then, they won't do well in school."

Fifty-seven percent of the participating students' mothers had less than a high school education. Thirty four percent of their mothers had a high school education or more. Correlating mother's educational level with the grades students reported they usually receive, we found that 40% of those whose mothers were not high school graduates reported receiving A's and B's. This is virtually identical to the group whose mothers had a high school education or more; 42% of whom reported that they usually receive A's and B's.

Sixty percent of the children of college educated mothers report that they usually get A's and B's. Similarly, 55% of those whose mothers have only an elementary school education also report usually receiving A's and B's.

Teachers agree that parents are of paramount importance. In answering the open-ended question "What helps Hispanic students stay in school?" teachers wrote in overwhelming numbers that parents and family play a vital role in students' success. Many teachers credit their own parents with keeping them in school as youngsters and favor more involvement in education by today's parents.

The teachers largely come from fairly educated families; 77% of their mothers and 58% of their fathers had graduated from high school or gone to college. Responding to "Why did you decide to stay in school instead of dropping out?" more than a quarter of the 52 teacher respondents declared that the thought of leaving school had never even occurred to them, but 34% named their parents as the reason. "My parents would have killed me!" two separate teachers responded. "Because I was told the value of education," recalled one teacher, "and because my parents kicked my ass when I wasn't doing well in school, not the teacher."

Parents and community activists feel that some teachers and school officials do not necessarily want parents in the school. In the focus group held with the Hispanic Pro-Education Committee of Rhode Island, community activists and educators noted that parents want to participate actively in the classroom and will if they are allowed. The focus group felt that teachers and administrators discouraged parents, particularly Hispanic parents, from entering the life of the school.

Some teachers suggested that many Hispanic parents readily accept a young person's decision to take a job or have a baby before graduation. "Parents have to be convinced that they have a stake in their children's future by increasing their awareness of the importance of education," wrote one teacher. Teachers suggested that schools offer parents ways to learn English, provide on-site translators, and translate written materials into Spanish to increase communication between parents and instructors and achieve this goal. Several suggested that teachers could also benefit from additional training.

Perhaps the point of divergence between parents and faculty lies in making a distinction between education and school. While many teachers favor parent involvement in education, they do not necessarily mean that parents should enter the classroom. Rather, they may see parents as essential providers of the support, attention, discipline, role modeling, and encouragement that help young people flourish in school.

Need for Cultural Sensitivity

Hispanic students on the whole consider themselves similar to other students. When asked "Do you think Hispanic students are unique or different in any way from other students?" 52% of students said "No." Statements such as "We all have different ways of thinking, acting, and feeling," "Some are calm; others study, to others nothing matters, some are disciplined, others are not disciplined," and "It depends from what part they are," imply that these Hispanic students do not see themselves as a monolithic block.

Twenty-six percent didn't answer the question, but 22% responded "Yes" to the same question. Of the 22% who answered yes, several loose categories of answers emerged.

The first group, when asked "[If Hispanic students are unique or different in any way from other students] how are they different?" naturally replied, "We're better!" which certainly speaks to the self-esteem issue. Others wrote statements like "...their culture and all is different" which, although true, is not specific enough to be programmatically useful.

There are three other groups of answers which are revealing. The first is "More Sentimental." This group includes the haunting statement "We are more delicate in many ways and need extra help." Other comments include "Things are more important to them. They have more feelings," "They are more understanding and friendlier," and "The Hispanics have a respect for people. We are brought up differently, since our culture is different."

Another sector can be grouped under the quality "Prouder"; it includes "Hispanics deep inside are a little proud," "I think we like to do things as we think they are and don't like anybody pushing us around," "They think they're something they're not," and "Because we're very intelligent but also very mischievous."

The third is "Trying to become Americanized" the category which includes such student comments as "They come from another country. They want to show they could do the same or better work (job) than Americans," and "Because they don't know the language well and they don't know the laws of the country and the duties they are supposed to perform."

One student wrote of friction with more acculturated individuals, "Because some are quieter and more timid so those who are already here try to intimidate them for their way of dressing, speaking, or being," and the statement "Many teachers don't pay attention to them because they are Hispanic" reveals some of the pain of this local Hispanic student.

Culture and School

Like many Americans, some teachers view culture as a superficial coating that distinguishes societies from each other the same way different colors of paint may distinguish houses that are all the same inside. As egalitarian as this point of view is meant to be, those who hold it may be disillusioned when actually faced with another culture. Culture runs deep and people of different cultures may be essentially different. People are not all the same, not on the surface and not underneath. Cultures may be profoundly different, but all cultures are equal; they are not to be discriminated against, but to be discriminated between. Adolescence is not adolescence in all cultures.

That resolved, any society must ask what the mission of the school is regarding children of other cultures. Many teachers mention that students need an education to survive and be successful in this country. The majority of students who participated concur that they stay in school because they want to "be somebody" or "make something" of their lives. Sometimes,

however, the recipe for success conflicts with a cultural value of the student's family.

Witness the decimation of Native American cultures in the Old West. In retrospect, most regret the tragic result of missionary zeal, yet those missionaries would certainly defend themselves, as teachers and school administrators do today, by saying that their Indian students needed skills to survive and be successful, and that Indian parents did not value education.

When schools teach beliefs to students, including the belief that teen pregnancy is a tragedy, that learning English is an advantage, and that reading is a boon to a student and a culture, schools are not being objective, but are representing and teaching cultural values.

If the role of school is only to teach the skills and values that will enable students to survive and achieve success in the United States, then the idea of a multicultural education is faulty.

The skills and values needed for success are not diverse, but narrowly circumscribed. Survival and success in this society depend largely upon conformity to limited and specialized cultural values and behaviors which are European, Christian, male, and middle class in nature. Instilling these values and behaviors, which often contradict those of immigrant or minority cultures, would substantially increase children's chances for survival and success in this society. Nonetheless, this practice would be contrary to the idea that schools should be multicultural and would also be openly discriminatory.

However, if the school must truly respect everyone's culture then educators cannot require students to speak as the mainstream thinks they should, to behave as teachers would have them behave, or indeed to read and write at all since literacy is not part of many cultures. We can offer them the opportunity to learn these cultural behaviors, but we can hardly require parents to send their children to schools of cultural indoctrination.

When educators, parents, young people, administrators, and community members communicate effectively and agree on the role of school regarding culture, they will be making great strides in reducing confusion, conflict, and misunderstanding that can affect students.

Cultural Sensitivity in the Schools

Obvious and pressing to parents and community leaders, the issue of cultural sensitivity in the schools is considerably less important to young people and teachers according to the results of this research.

The majority of Hispanic students (52%) feel that they are not unique or different in any way from other students. Similarly, when asked to state reasons Hispanic students leave school early, several teachers wrote that they leave for the same reasons others leave. Teachers clearly prefer not to categorize and some believe that all kids are the same. The great majority of teachers who answered our extensive questionnaire displayed sincere concern for their Hispanic students as individuals and were reluctant to generalize about Hispanics as a group.

Of the questions relating to school personnel, "Teachers who care about the students" exceeded most cultural factors in students' minds: 63% of students rated it very important. In the long answer sections of the survey students repeatedly cited the importance of encouragement and guidance from teachers in preventing dropping out. When asked "What helps Hispanic students graduate?" "Help from the teacher" and "Support from the teacher" were very common responses. "...Feeling that the teachers are interested in us is something very important because it gives us strength to go on," wrote a 16-year-old. "Knowing [students] can do better," wrote another student, "Teachers giving them a little push."

"Teachers who know their subject well" followed caring in importance with 60% of students rating that quality very significant.

Fifty-three percent of students felt it was very important to have teachers who understood their background. Forty percent felt that it was very important to have teachers who are Hispanic. Students rated Spanish-speaking counselors and principals as substantially more important than Spanish-speaking teachers (50.4% and 71.1% responding very important respectively, compared to 33.1% citing Spanish-speaking teachers as very important).

Not surprisingly, teacher responses followed the same trend. Forty-eight percent of teachers thought it was very important that teachers understand their students' background, but "Teachers who are Hispanic" and "Teachers who are the same race as their students" ranked among the last priorities in teachers' responses. Similar to their students, teachers ranked Spanish-speaking counselors and principals as more important than Spanish-speaking teachers in lowering the dropout rate. The highest priority for teachers, as it was for students, was "Teachers who care about the students."

While culturally relevant books and courses ranked in the low twenties and teen percentiles in importance for preventing Hispanic students from dropping out, according to both students and teachers, strong opinions from both teacher and student respondents about the importance of teachers who understand their students' backgrounds suggests that students and teachers could pursue this common value by exploring Latin American and Caribbean history, literature, and arts together.

Need for Encouragement/Support from Parents and Teachers

In general, when asked what they felt Hispanic students needed to graduate, students responded that they need to study a lot and work hard, pay attention to the teacher, learn English well, and do the assignments. They reported that the reason they stayed in school instead of dropping out was their own ambition "to be somebody in life." Despite this willingness to

take responsibility for their own successes or failures, students proclaimed repeatedly that the key to success in school was encouragement from teachers and parents, the issue of emotional support or *un empuje*, a push, emerged clearly as a critical factor in students' academic careers.

Conclusion

Communication between teachers and parents was cited as essential to student success by all four sectors: teachers, parents, students, and community activists. Many participants expressed a willingness to work together. Some of the suggestions which surfaced in this survey include trading knowledge of cultures, and reaching mutual understanding about the role of parents and the role of teachers in education, about the place of school personnel in the family, and about the goals of education regarding culture, particularly language.

Further issues include the more traditional yet still pressing ones of economic need, drug abuse, and teen pregnancy. Responses from students highlight the importance of providing moral support and encouragement to help these enthusiastic, optimistic young people realize their ambition to graduate from high school. The findings of Fernandez showing that Hispanic students are positive and optimistic about school, and that Hispanic parents do care about their children's education are reflected in Providence. Providence can break the downward spiral of educational attainment that Bean has documented in Mexican-Americans in the West by working together to help these young people "be somebody" in Providence.

Recommendations from The Advisory Committee

Provide Economic Opportunities for Young People:

1. Develop new and expand existing work/study opportunities for Hispanic students, such as JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act) and the Chamber of Commerce's School-to-Work Programs. Programs should provide after-school and summer jobs in community service and business primarily, but also offer academic subjects and mentoring. Government grants to businesses could be tied to hiring students.

Institute System-Wide Changes in the Schools:

2. Institutionalize the programs and pilot projects that are working in the schools now; make them system-wide. Successful programs such as the Guaranteed Admissions Program (GAP), Time 2, Upward Bound, Educational Talent Search, Project Discovery, English saturation classes, the DELTA literacy program, reading programs with bilingual specialists, Family-School Support Teams, Parents as Teachers, and Family Literacy Centers should exist in each school.
3. Strengthen counseling in the schools on all levels and provide bilingual staff. Increase high school guidance counselors' ability to find financial aid for students. Utilize college admissions officers, Educational Opportunity Center staff, parents, and community volunteers to support school guidance counselors.
4. Expand bilingual classrooms to accommodate all children who need access to bilingual education. The International Baccalaureate program could also offer an opportunity for gifted bilingual as well as mainstream students. Expand classes in Latin American and Caribbean history, literature and composition in Spanish for Spanish speakers.

5. Improve the physical distribution of bilingual classrooms. Desegregate bilingual classrooms within the school buildings by refraining from grouping all bilingual rooms together, and by refraining from locating them in basements, in modular classrooms in back lots, and in similarly isolated, undesirable locations.

Strengthen School Communication with Parents and the Community:

6. Improve school-parent communication by providing bilingual/bicultural staff: a full time community liaison for each school, Family Center staff, and bilingual/bicultural guidance counselors and support staff. Utilize Hispanic teachers who have moved to Providence from other countries.
7. Translate all materials for parents into Spanish.
8. Improve outreach to publicize the programs and alternatives that already exist within the school system. Conduct timely, bilingual follow-up interviews with young people who drop out; help them find alternative programs.

Help Students Help Each Other:

9. Institute an alterschool peer tutoring program for wages and/or school credit in community centers. Older Hispanic students would tutor younger ones after school and improve their own self-esteem and academic skills through teaching others.

APPENDIX

Interviews with 15 Hispanic Young People Who Dropped Out of School in 1991-92

SUMMARY

- Ninety percent of the young Hispanic people who left school in Providence during 1991-92 were incommunicado by the end of the summer of '92. Only 15 out of 145 could be reached by phone. This population appears to be extremely mobile.
- These young people seem to doubt that graduating from high school will substantially improve their earning power. Fourteen out of the 15 Hispanic dropouts interviewed said they would be likely or very likely to return to school if they felt they could get a good job, compared to only 67% of Hispanic dropouts from the nation wide NELS:88 study (National Educational Longitudinal Study: 1988).
- Several of the dropouts interviewed felt that the school had pushed them out. Despite excessive absences, they seemed to want to continue to be a part of the school. This indicates that there is an element of "push out" for some "dropouts." Not alienation (self exile), but disaffection (separation as a result of the school's actions or attitudes) is indicated as a contributing factor.
- All the dropouts surveyed said they would be likely or very likely to return to school if they felt they could graduate, compared to 57% of the Hispanic dropouts from the NELS:88 study.
- Teachers are extremely important in these young people's lives. Eleven of 15 Hispanic dropouts interviewed said help from the teachers with classwork was very important in helping Hispanic students graduate. Nevertheless several students reported that they were misunderstood or ignored by teachers. All but one of the Providence dropouts interviewed reported that they would be very likely or somewhat likely to return to school if teachers treated them fairly.
- Six of the 15 Hispanic respondents who had left school reported that they had left partly because they were pregnant or became a parent. All of the female respondents reported that they left because they were pregnant, among other reasons.
- Bilingual programs did not seem to be a determining factor in students' decisions to stay in school or drop out. In this unplanned sample of 15 dropouts from the 1992 school year, half had been in bilingual classrooms at some time in their school careers, and half had not. Thirteen had been in ESL classes at one time.

Respondents indicated that the following factors caused them to leave school before graduating: (of 15 respondents)

REASONS OFFERED	# RESPONDING "TRUE"
Failing school	12
Could not keep up with school work	8
I did not like school	7
Was expelled	7
Had to get a job	7
Found a job	7
Could not work and go to school at the same time	7
Could not get along with teachers	6
Was suspended too often	6
High school was too different from middle school	6

Methodology and Demographics of the Dropouts Interviewed

Bilingual staff attempted to contact all the Hispanic young people who had left school last year to conduct telephone interviews based on the questionnaires students had filled out. Unfortunately, 90% of the young Hispanic people who left school in Providence during 1991-92 were incommunicado by the end of the summer of '92. Only 15 out of 145 could be reached by phone. It is possible that part of this is due to out of date information in the school department's files, but it also indicates high mobility in the population.

Three of the 15 young people interviewed were female and 12 were male. Seven of the respondents' families were from the Dominican Republic and six were from Puerto Rico. One interviewee was from Mexico and one didn't answer the question about familial origin. Ten of the 15 chose to answer in English and five in Spanish. Nine of these individuals either had their General Education Diploma (GED) or were currently enrolled in a new school or program. Programs they enrolled in included CCRI, JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act), West End Community Center's Project Hold, and The RI Indian Council's GED class. Results of these interviews, while unfortunately too few to provide any conclusions, are presented here as a glimpse of the Hispanic young people who left school without graduating in 1991-92. They are grouped in roughly the same manner as the findings from student respondents, as follows:

- Teen Pregnancy*
- Drugs*
- English Proficiency*
- Students Lack of Interest in Education*
- Longevity in the US/Acculturation*
- Failure in Class/Absence*
- Cultural Sensitivity in the Schools/Discrimination*
- Economic Need/Vocational Training*
- Academic Reform/More Help with Academics*
- Parent Involvement/Support from Teachers and Parents*

Teen Pregnancy

Six of the 15 Hispanic respondents who had left school reported that they had left partly because they were pregnant or became a parent. All three of the female respondents reported that they left because they were pregnant, among other reasons. Three out of twelve males reported becoming parents in the year they left school.

Seven out of 15 of these young people felt sex education was very important, which is about the same proportion of students who felt it was very important. Dropouts were less convinced than students that programs to prevent teen pregnancy were crucial. Of the 15 dropouts we interviewed, 7 (47%) called programs to prevent teen pregnancy very important in helping Hispanic students graduate, while 55% of students thought the same.

Several respondents noted that childcare was not an issue to them because their mothers care for the children. When asked how likely they would be to return to school if they had a babysitter or if childcare were available at school, only 4 of 15 respondents said they would be very likely or likely to return.

Drugs

Dropouts were a bit cooler on drug/alcohol education than students: 8 of 15 (53%) called it very important, 2 called it not important. One young man actually opposed such a program by saying "Drug and alcohol education makes kids curious. You show them how to do it in the ads." Many participants from both groups mentioned selling drugs rather than taking drugs as a cause of dropping out, indicating that economic gain rather than drug addiction is the motivation.

Nevertheless, dropouts were slightly more enthusiastic about drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs than students were: 8 of 15 (53%) felt such programs would be very important in helping Hispanic students stay in school, but only 44% of students thought so.

English Proficiency

In perhaps the most surprising finding of this study researchers found that the young people who had left school displayed more fluency in English than the students surveyed. Ten out of 15 (66%) of the dropouts chose to answer the survey in English as opposed to 39% of current students.

This may indicate that the young people who dropped out had better job opportunities because of their command of English and so were tempted to leave high school to work. Nevertheless, the dropouts placed "the ability to speak English well" at the very top of the list of factors that help Hispanic students graduate. Students placed it second (after financial aid) in a list of 27 factors. The high regard dropouts have for English fluency as a factor in helping Hispanic students graduate from high school indicates that, despite their ease with English, they felt their language abilities were not good enough to help them graduate.

This may reflect an effect such as Dr. Frank D. Bean found in his 1991 Texas study of Mexican American families. He found that educational attainment dipped in the second generation; a decline he attributed to the perception of discrimination and social barriers in this society that take a negative toll on young people's hope and motivation.

Thirteen out of the 15 had been in an ESL program at some time in their school career. Bilingual education did not seem to be a determining factor based on 15 dropouts from the 1992 school year; half the random sample had been in bilingual classrooms at some time in their school careers and half had not, yet all dropped out.

Students' Lack of Interest in Education

Several dropouts made initial statements like "I wanted to stay home" or "I didn't like to get up early" to describe their reasons for leaving school. Seven of 15 responded "true" to the statement "I did not like school." Upon further probing, however, each had distinct reasons for leaving school. Most (12 out of 15) reported that they were failing school. Several, as mentioned above, became parents and/or found jobs. One young woman cited conflict with a group of other students as her reason for leaving school. One participant felt discouraged because she had almost completed high school in Mexico but had several years to go in this system. One student quit because he was taken off the basketball team due to poor grades. Four said they had been expelled for "bunking" or "screwing up."

Whether or not interviewees were accurately relating the facts of their cases, their feelings of being pushed out rather than having dropped out, merit note as an indication of the mindset of these young people as it relates to school. One of those expelled said "They didn't want me," another felt he was "kicked out for no apparent reason." The young woman who left because of conflict with certain other students never spoke to school officials about it, but when those students graduated she tried to reenroll. She said she was refused reentry because she was too old. One simply said "Nobody was interested in me."

As subjective as these statements are, they do indicate that these young Hispanic dropouts were interested in maintaining some association with their school or continuing their education, but they felt the school rejected them. This is reflected in the fact that nine out of 15 of the group either had their General Education Diploma (GED) or were enrolled in educational programs at the time of the interviews.

Longevity in the US/Acculturation

While gleaned from a sample too small to provide conclusive evidence, findings in Providence do indicate a link between acculturation and dropping out. Contrary to expectations, the more acculturated one becomes, the less likely one is to graduate.

In addition to being more proficient in English, as mentioned above, the dropouts who participated had lived on the US mainland for a longer period than their peers who stayed in school. Six of these young people were born on the US mainland. Three more had been here over 10 years (their entire school careers). Only 3 had been here under five years. The rest had been here between 6 and 10 years.

The interviews indicate that those students most proficient in English and most experienced with mainland society, that is to say those most acculturated or "USAmericanized," are more likely to drop out than recent immigrants (or migrants) who favor their first language and who, presumably, retain closer ties to their traditional cultural values. This may be due to confusion about their own cultural identity and to more complete USAmericanization of attitudes regarding consumerism or other cultural values.

Again, this reflects Bean's findings that immigrants who have been in the US for some time perceive formidable social barriers and discrimination. This perception, not so prevalent among recently arrived immigrants, affects self esteem and motivation.

Failure in Class/Absence

All the dropouts surveyed said they would be likely or very likely to return to school if they felt they could graduate, compared to 57% of the Hispanic dropouts from the NELS:88 study. Twelve out of 15 of those dropouts surveyed in Providence were failing school when they left, many due to excessive absence. Several said they had been "kicked out" for excessive absences.

Cultural Sensitivity in the Schools/Discrimination

Seven out of fifteen dropouts felt that Hispanics were not unique or different in any way from other students, but those who did feel different offered these feelings:

"People have more anger toward Hispanic students: teachers and students "

"The way they treat you They treat you badly, talk badly. "

"They're afraid. They don't fit in. ESL is in the basement. Don't put them all downstairs like segregation. Spread them around the building.. ESL is a good idea but not segregated."

Although students and teachers largely agree that understanding and academic excellence are more important than culturally relevant materials and educators' ethnicity, dropouts did express conflict with teachers. Six out of 15 dropouts cited "could not get along with teachers" among the reasons they left school. "It's not the army," complained one participant, "They (teachers) want it their way. They have to compromise." "The vice principal didn't like me," commented one young man. "They blame you for every tiny little thing. They always assume it's one person," claimed another.

All but one of the Providence dropouts interviewed reported that they would be very likely or somewhat likely to return to school if teachers treated them fairly.

Dropouts felt courses on Hispanic culture were more important than students and teachers thought they were; 5 of fifteen calling such courses very important. Dropouts agreed with students and teachers, however, that "Teachers who care about the students" are more important than "Teachers who are Hispanic." (9/15 responded that caring teachers are very important versus 7/15 who felt that having Hispanic teachers was very important). Dropouts also agree with students and teachers that "Counselors who speak Spanish" are slightly more important to student success than "Teachers who speak Spanish" (4/15 responding very important to the first, versus 3/15 responding equally to the second factor).

Economic Need/Vocational Training

This group of young people definitely felt that economic need was a factor that leads to dropping out. Ninety-three percent (14/15) of the young people interviewed who left school in Providence last year said they would be likely or very likely to return to school if they felt they could get a good job, compared to only 67% of Hispanic dropouts from the NELS:88 study.

Eleven of 15 called financial aid to high school students very important in helping students graduate. Eleven of 15 also felt a guaranteed job for each graduate would help Hispanic students stay in school, but even without a job placement program, simple confidence that a high school diploma would make a difference in their earning power might make a difference to young people and could help diminish the allure of selling drugs noted by dropouts and students.

Nine of the dropouts interviewed said they would be very likely to re-enroll if they could take more job related courses.

Academic Reform/More Help with Academics

Beyond vocational training and job placement, this group of 15 young Hispanic people expressed interest in some restructuring of the schools. Nine of 15 said they would be very likely to return to school if classes were more interesting. Eleven said they would be very likely to return if they could get a diploma in less time.

All of the 15 said they would be very likely or likely to re-enroll if they felt they could graduate. Eleven of 15 dropouts felt that help from the teacher on classwork was very important to helping Hispanic students graduate.

Frustration with academics and the desire for more help from the teacher on classwork are reflected in several interviewee comments on teaching. Again, while they are totally subjective, these statements may help to illustrate the perspective of several of the dropouts interviewed: their frustration and embarrassment regarding schoolwork, their vague dissatisfaction with teachers, yet their strong feeling that they would have welcomed more (or different) help and guidance from those very teachers.

The same student who said "It's not the army...(Teachers) have to compromise" suggested that he wanted more contact with teachers when he suggested "Make teachers stay after school and not beat the rush hour. Some teachers know but won't share it. They just give you a question then read the paper." Another young man said "Nobody takes time to help who really needs it. I always passed even though I never did the work. Teachers pass them for the hell of it. They don't see what's really wrong, they just want them out of there. Make it a bit more fun. Don't treat students like little kids. Teachers are old fashioned, too strict. They get aggravated. They give dittos and say, 'That's all. Do it.' They're not patient. Kids just bunk or drop out from stress or are ashamed because they can't read the tests. They don't understand." Despite this assessment of teachers the same student said he wanted *confianza* (trust and friendship) with them.

One former student disagreed that teachers were too strict: "It was too easy," he stated, "The teachers give you too much leeway. You screw up. I screwed up." Whether expressing the need for a stronger hand or for more flexibility these young people have a common feeling, subjective though it is, that their needs were ignored. They express a common need and desire for more guidance, for more rather than less contact with teachers and adults in general.

The student quoted as saying that teachers are old fashioned and too strict nevertheless reflected statements from other dropouts and from students when he went on to suggest that he would welcome more guidance from adults. He proposed that schools "Have a one period session to talk about life or fathers or problems. Understand people. You can't fix what you don't know. Study after school. Have a little session to talk."

Parent Involvement/Support from Teachers and Parents

Support and guidance from parents as well as teachers emerged as an important factor in student success. Parents who value education were rated as very important to helping Hispanic students graduate by 10 of 15 dropouts interviewed. Eight felt that more parent involvement was very important. The influence of adults in motivating a young person is painfully evident in this statement from one young person who left school last year: "Teachers have a lot to do with it. If teachers were nice they wouldn't say 'figure it out' because if they don't care why should I?..."

Another former student, when asked "What do Hispanic students in Providence need to graduate from high school?" echoed the feelings of many young people, both in school and out, by saying "More motivation. Help from teachers and parents."

Conclusion

Like current Hispanic students, the young people who left Providence schools last year placed great value on encouragement and support from their teachers and parents. They place caring teachers very high in the list of elements that help Hispanic students graduate, yet they expressed interest in more Spanish speaking counselors and administrators. They felt they needed more help with school work and they wanted a closer relationship with their teachers. They expressed a strong interest in making money and did not seem completely convinced that staying in high school would increase their chances of finding a good job.

Perhaps the most striking factor indicated by this preliminary research into Providence's young Hispanic population is that dropouts are more acculturated, speak more English, and have lived on the US mainland longer than young people who have stayed in school. Perhaps the frustration with schoolwork, the new consumerism and the economic need that surrounds it, and the feelings of exclusion, work together, as Bean's study indicated, to slowly wear away the initial sense of optimism, confidence that hard work will pay off, and sense of opportunity that new residents may feel.

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ABOUT THE COLLABORATIVE

The Providence Dropout Prevention Collaborative is a coalition of over 200 community members including parents, teachers, community-based and education organizations, public schools, businesses, post-secondary institutions, public health agencies and city and state governments. The mission of the Collaborative is to increase the number of students who graduate from Providence Public Schools and to increase public awareness of issues related to dropout prevention.

If you would like more information about the Collaborative or are interested in becoming a member, please call **277-3982** or write to the following address:

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